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There is no cultivation of standing crops. Weeding is done by hand, usually by the women and children. The fields are sometimes fenced with posts and saplings bound crosswise with withes, somewhat like our own post and rail fences, but this seems to be rare. It is only resorted to in places where the wild pigs are numerous.

When the grain begins to ripen, members of the family are on guard day and night to drive away birds and wild pigs, whose nocturnal raids often cause serious damage. Cords with bits of cloth or leaves attached are sometimes suspended over the fields, but there seem to be no elaborate scarecrows comparable to those of Malaysia. Bamboo bull-roarers are often used to frighten away the birds, but this task is usually delegated to small boys armed with slings. They are very expert with these weapons and I have seen a boy bring down a bird no larger than a sparrow at twenty yards. At night the men keep guard with spears, to drive off pigs. Also, traps are set in their runs and at gaps in the fence.

The Menabe, like the Ikongo, sacrifice before beginning the harvest, but their method is slightly different. A post, called *fatotra*, is set up in the *tany* of each family. It is about 4 feet high and 2 or 3 inches in diameter (Fig. 23, k). The top is split in the form of a cross and little wedges inserted with their ends projecting almost horizontally, forming a small stand or platform about 6 inches across. The husband, not the wife, gathers the green rice and makes the *lango*. He places a little of it, on a piece of the leaf of the Traveler's Palm, on the *fatotra* and says: "Oh *Fahasiny* [ancestors], you have given us a good harvest. We give you this meal as your share." The neighboring Betsimisaraka make their harvest sacrifice in the same way, but mix rice chaff with the *lango*.

After the sacrifice has been made, the harvest commences. The rice is headed with small iron knives identical with those used in weaving, as razors, etc. (Fig. 1, *f*). The stalks are cut between the knife blade and the thumb, two or three at a time, and the heads dropped into a basket held in the left hand. The heads are often dried on mats in the sun before they are stored. No use is made of the straw, which is left to rot in the fields.

The granaries, *homby*, are small houses, shaped like miniature dwellings. The walls and floor are of split and interwoven bamboo and the roof heavily thatched with the leaves of the Traveler's Palm. They are always raised on smooth posts, to keep out the rats, but the height varies greatly. The average is about 6 feet, but some are as low as 4 feet, and others as high as 12 feet. There is a small door

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X. AMUSEMENTS

Toys and Games

The Tanala have a number and a variety of toys. Although these are, in theory, used only by children, they seem to retain a certain lure for adults. I often saw grown men and women playing with the less strenuous toys when there were no children present and when they thought they were not observed. On seeing me, they stopped at once and seemed as embarrassed as an American parent caught under similar circumstances. 524

A few of the more complicated toys may be made by men, to please their children. However, most toys are made by the children themselves. In this, the boys from ten to fourteen seem to excel, displaying considerable ingenuity and a feeling for good craftsmanship. Girls rarely make toys. The use of various toys seems to run in cycles. At one time all the children in the village will be stilt walking, or playing with bamboo clappers, while a week later something else will have taken their fancy and not one of last week's toys will be in evidence. I believe the following list of toys to be fairly complete, for during my stay at Ambohimanga I was on excellent terms with the children and enlisted their help to round out my collection. [462] [123]

Tanala children are fond of noise-making appliances. The most efficient toy for this purpose is a bamboo clapper, made from a 5-foot section of the largest variety. One end of the bamboo is split back about 2 feet and the halves held apart by a wooden pin placed inside, a few inches back from the outer end. A cord is fastened to the center of this pin, passing out of the bamboo through a hole about halfway down. When the pin is jerked out with the cord, the halves come together with a report like that of a small rifle. This toy seems to be used mainly by the larger boys (Fig. 26, d).

The bull-roarer, *tavovoka*, is used mostly by small boys from seven to twelve years old. It is made from a flat strip of bamboo about ¾ inch wide and 5 inches long, bluntly pointed at the ends. One end of this is attached to a slender stick by a cord about 2 feet long. The bull-roarer is swung round the head and makes a whistling, rushing noise of no great volume. It is sometimes used to frighten birds away from the standing crops, but has no ceremonial use or significance (Fig. 26, c). 534

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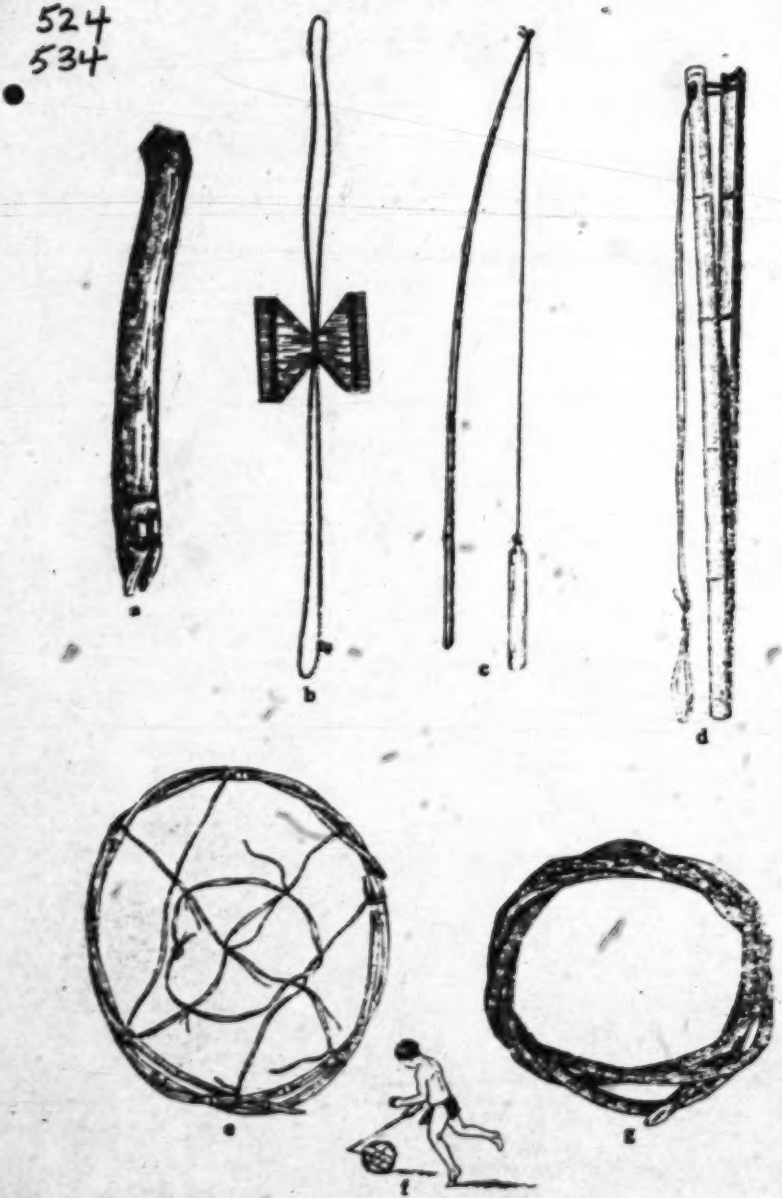

FIG. 28. Toys. a, Stick for Making Ox Tracks; b, Teetotum; c, Bull-roarer; d, Bamboo Clapper; e, g, Hoops; f, Boy Playing with Netted Hoop.

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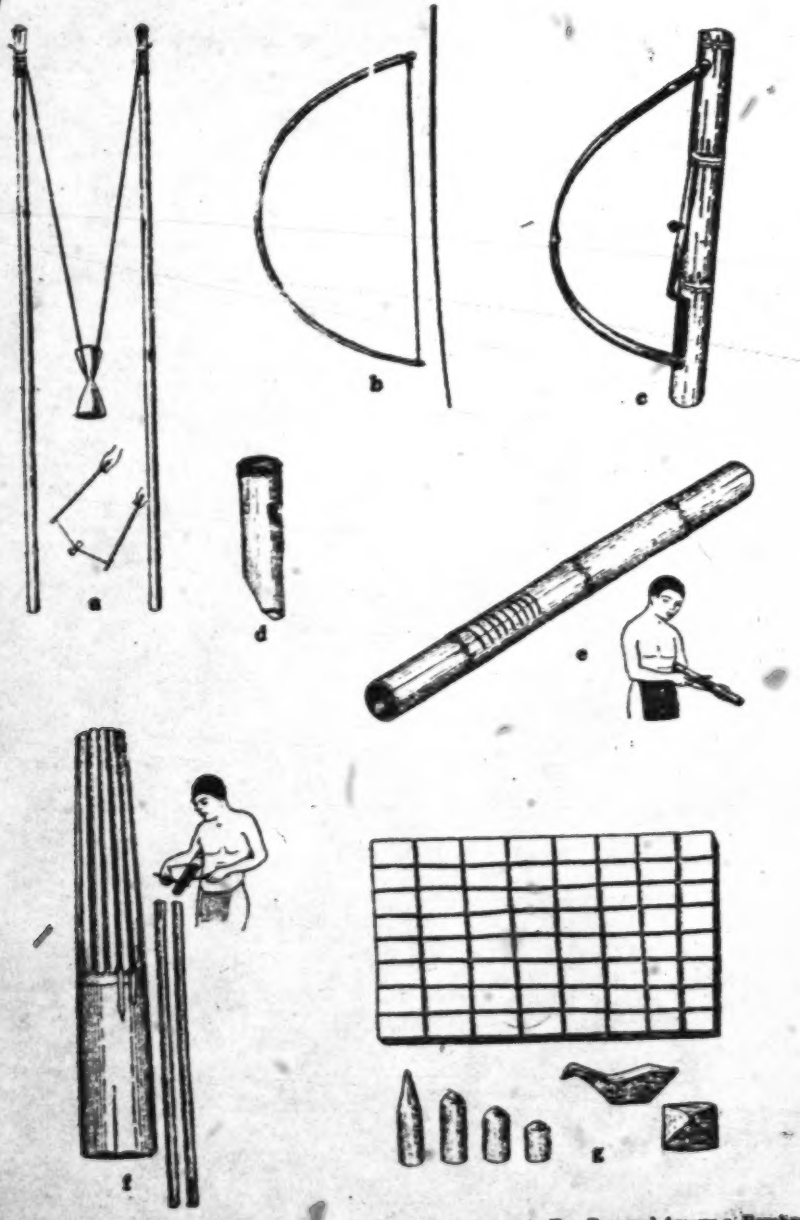

FIG. 28. Toys and Musical Instruments. a, Diabolo Game; b, Toy Bow and Arrow; c, Bamboo Pop Gun; d, Bamboo Whistle; e, Bamboo Rasp; f, *Kididahy*; g, Chess Board and Men.

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524 sometimes shortened by agreeing that the player shall capture the seeds in the antagonist's front and back rows simultaneously. Thus if a play came out with the capture of the seeds at *D*, those at *L* would be taken simultaneously. The Imerina call this *katra boaoaka*, but the Tanala seem to have no name for this variation.

Native chess, called *samantsy* (Figs. 28, g; 29) is not played by the Tanala Menabe. For the following description of the game, as played by the Ikongo, I am indebted to an article published by [113] Captain Ardant du Picq, in the Bulletin de l'Academie Malgache, vol. X, pp. 267–268. Fig. 29 is copied from his article. Captain du Picq says:

"The game is played on a board divided into 64 squares. Each side has 16 pieces, as follows—8 *Zaza*, 2 *Vorona*, 2 *Farasy*, 2 *Basy*, 1 *Anankova* and 1 *Hova*. The shapes of the pieces are shown in the accompanying illustration [Fig. 29], also their arrangement on the board. Those of one side are of white wood, those of the other black. The general rules of play are that the game is won when the opposing *Hova* is blockaded; that one piece, when it takes another, takes its place; and that no piece except the *Farasy* can move over another piece. The moves of the various pieces are as follows:

"1. The *Zaza* moves from A to B, straight before it for any clear distance and captures neighboring pieces on the diagonals, as (1) and (2). When it arrives at B it acquires all the properties of the *Anankova* for moves and captures.

"2. The *Vorona* moves rectangularly for any clear distance and captures in the same way.

"3. A *Farasy* placed, for example, at (3) can move to (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10) or (11). It captures in the same way. It is the only piece which can pass over other pieces.

"4. The *Basy* moves diagonally passing over one square and captures in the same way.

"5. The *Anankova* moves diagonally square by square and captures in the same way.

"6. The *Hova* moves rectangularly or diagonally square by square and takes in the same way. It cannot be taken by any other piece and *Hovas* cannot take each other."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Tanala musical instruments include stringed instruments, wind instruments, drums and rattles, all of a fairly primitive sort. The

simplest stringed instruments are the musical bow and a peculiar instrument called *pitikilange*, for which there is no English name. 534

The *pitikilange* (Fig. 30, d) appears to be limited to the Tanala and the adjoining tribes on the east coast. It is really a toy rather than a true musical instrument, for it is rarely played by adults. A flexible pole ½ to ¾ inch in diameter and 4 to 6 feet long is planted in the ground so that it slopes at a slight angle. Below its tip a pit is dug, 8 or 9 inches across and 4 to 5 inches deep. A cord of twisted raffia is attached to the tip of the pole and passed through the center of a small square piece of dry bark. It is fastened on the under side of the bark by a wooden crosspiece about 1 inch long. The pole is then bent over and the bark pegged down over the pit. The player plucks the taut string with the right hand and can alter the pitch somewhat by sliding his left up and down it. The pit and bark act as a resonator.

The musical bow, *jejolara*, is used by all the Madagascar tribes and is everywhere of very much the same form. The bow is round in section, about 1 inch in diameter at the center and tapering slightly toward the ends. It is from 4½ to 6 feet long. There is a single slender string made from twisted raffia. A movable resonator, made from the stem end of a gourd about 6 inches in diameter, is attached to the bow by a loop of cord which passes over the string and slightly compresses it. The end of the gourd lies directly against the wood of the bow (Fig. 30, a). This resonator is usually placed about 18 inches from the lower end of the bow, but the player will change its position until he gets the desired tone. In playing, the instrument is held vertically, with the resonator pressed hard against the player's chest and about half the bow rising above his head. The string is tapped with a slender stick about 18 inches long, usually made from the midrib of a palm leaflet. This is held in the right hand. The bow is pressed against the body with the left forearm and the fingers of the left hand used to fret the string. In the hand which wields the tapping stick the player also holds a peculiar rattle, made from a sewn pandanus leaf containing a few seeds or small pebbles (Fig. 30, j). The rattle is triangular in section and about 8 inches long. It is grasped with the last two fingers and projects below the hand.

The *marovany* is the most complicated of the Tanala stringed instruments. It might be called the national instrument of Madagascar, for it is the favorite with all tribes. The Betsileo and Imerina call it *valiha*. There are two forms, one made from bamboo, the other

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534 from the midrib of a raffia palm frond. The bamboo instrument appears to be the oldest and the Tanala use it to the practical exclusion of the raffia one.

The bamboo *marovany* is made from a section of large bamboo, about 3 inches in diameter, which is cut off 2 to 3 inches beyond the septum at both ends (Fig. 30, g). The strings are made by cutting two parallel grooves a sixteenth of an inch apart ending an inch within the septa. The strip of fiber between the grooves is then detached from the body of the bamboo, but left attached at the ends. Above and below the strings, the joint is wrapped with several turns of split vine, to keep the ends of the strings from tearing out. The number of strings varies from eight to sixteen, evenly spaced around the entire circumference of the instrument. It is tuned by inserting a bridge, cut from dry gourd shell, under each end of each string. The varying height and position of these bridges give different tones. I was unable to understand the Tanala method of tuning. Apparently each player arranged his instrument to suit himself. The Imerina and Betsileo now tune their instruments on the European scale, covering two octaves.

The player sits and holds the instrument on his knees vertically, with the upper end directed slightly outward, and picks the strings with his fingers. Among the Imerina, young dandies often permit the nails on the little fingers of both hands to grow very long, as much as an inch and a half, and use them as picks to reach the strings on the farther side of the instrument. Such nails also indicate that their owner does not perform manual labor, so they are highly valued. The player often sings and accompanies himself. The instrument has a pleasing tone and could easily be adapted to European music.

The raffia stem *marovany* is identical in principle with the bamboo one just described (Fig. 30, h). The section of midrib is first split longitudinally and hollowed out for about three-quarters of its length. The two halves are then lashed together by vine wrappings at the ends. The tone is rather inferior to that of the bamboo *marovany*.

The *lokanga*, a curious three-stringed guitar with a large resonator made from an inverted half gourd, and the true guitar, both seem to be unknown to the Tanala. The former is identical with an [171] instrument used in the Congo, in Africa, and is almost certainly an importation from that continent. It is a favorite instrument with wandering musicians, who are fairly numerous in the plateau and among the tribes of the west and south. The guitar, from its form, [177] is probably of Indian origin.

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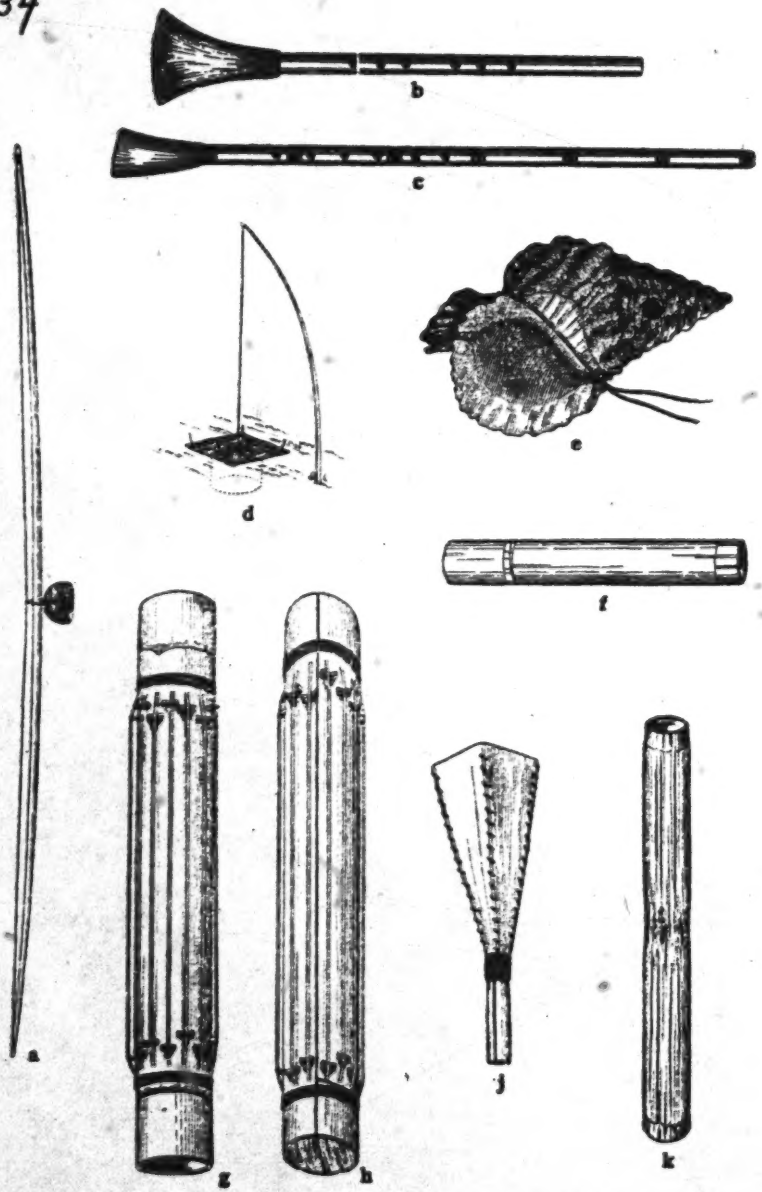

FIG. 30. Musical Instruments. a, Musical Bow; b, c, Flutes; d, *Pitikilange;* e, Shell Trumpet; f, Bamboo Trumpet; g, Bamboo *Marovany;* h, Raffia Stem *Marovany;* j, Rattle Used with Musical Bow; k, Reed Rattle.

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534 The principal wind instrument of the Tanala is a flute, the *sodina* (Fig. 30, b, c). This is made from a section of bamboo about 2 feet long and ¾ inch in diameter, open at both ends. There are six evenly spaced holes. The finer specimens are often bound at intervals with rings of bark stripped from a sapling of the same diameter and drawn on while wet. Flutes may also have flaring, trumpet-like mouths made by attaching a section of hollowed-out horn or the stem end of a small gourd. These additions do not contribute to the effectiveness of the instrument and seem to be primarily decorative.

Bamboo whistles (Fig. 28, d) are now used as toys, but may well be of European origin.

Trumpets, *antsiva*, are important ceremonially. They are blown at funerals and sacrifices, and are used to give the alarm in case of attack and to summon the people to council. They are of two types: shell trumpets, which are universal in Madagascar, and bamboo trumpets, which seem to be peculiar to the Tanala. The shell trumpets are imported from the east coast and are highly valued. They are usually made from Triton shells and are often quite small, as little as 4 inches in length (Fig. 30, e). They are blown through a hole cut in the side a short distance below the apex. There is no mouthpiece. The bamboo trumpets are simple tubes about 1 inch in diameter and 6 to 8 inches long (Fig. 30, f). They are blown with a vibrating lip, like a bugle. An unskilled person cannot make a sound with them, but a trained one can blow a piercing blast audible for over a mile.

Drums are the main instruments used for dances. They are of two types, the *amponga* and the *hazo lahy* (lit. "male wood"). The *amponga* is beaten for social dances or simply for amusement. It is double headed, 18 inches to 2 feet in diameter and usually about 18 inches high. The body is a straight wooden cylinder, cut from a log. The heads are made from thin calfskin put on wet. They are held in place by double rings of heavy withes and elaborate lashings of rawhide (Fig. 31, b). In this type the heads cannot be tightened except by removing the whole arrangement of rings, etc., and replacing it, and this is rarely done. The *amponga* is beaten on one end only, the player using his hand or a short stick with a small ball of cloth on the end. It usually rests on the ground, although players sometimes carry it slung over one shoulder and hanging in front. It is played by both men and women.

[462] The *hazo lahy* are played only by men, who are usually at least semi-professionals. They are always played in pairs, the two drums

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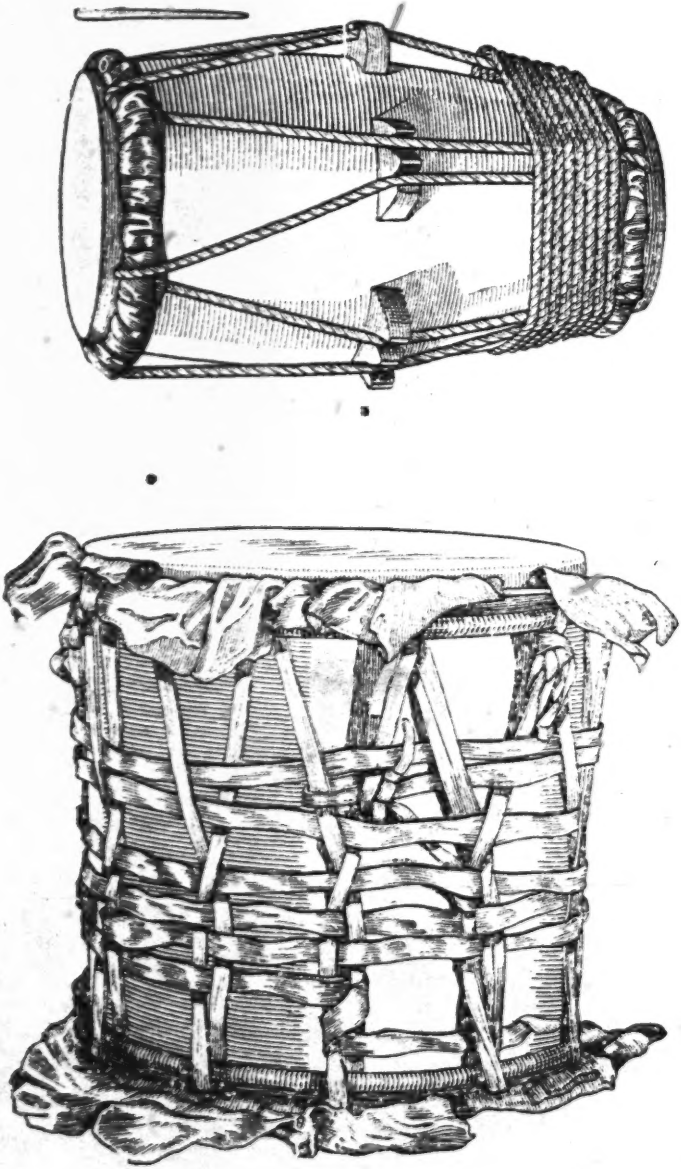

a

b

FIG. 31. Drums. a, *Hazo Laby* Drum; b, Ordinary (*Ampongo*) Drum.

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534 being of different size. The body of the drum is long and biconical. The maximum diameter con es at a point about one-third the length of the drum from its larger end. The total length is about 18 inches, with a maximum diameter of about 9 inches for the larger and 7 inches for the smaller drum of the pair (Fig. 31, a). The heads are made of very thin skin, put on with double rings of withes, as in the *amponga*. On the outer side of the smaller head of each drum there is a third ring, made from a roll of cloth. This is rather loosely fastened, with small cord, to the lashings below. The longitudinal lashings, which unite the two heads, are of bark or raffia rope, never of hide. They are tightened by means of notched stretchers, which can be slid up and down the sloping body of the drum to get the correct tension.

The drum is suspended from the shoulders of the player, hanging horizontal at about the level of his waist with the large end to the right. The large end is beaten with a small stick while the small end is simultaneously struck with the palm or knuckles. Four main tones, with numerous variations, can be produced by the two drums played in unison. Some of the drum rhythms are quite complicated. The *hazo lahy* are not used for ordinary social dances, although they do not seem to be definitely taboo. They are played at funerals and sacrifices, at the erection of memorial stones, at the dances preceding the setting out of a war party and on other serious occasions.

202 The Tanala have nothing resembling the drum signaling found in various other parts of the world. The only place in Madagascar where this occurs is among certain Mahafaly gentes in the extreme southwest of the island and even there the code appears to be rudimentary.

534 Rattles are of two types, that used with the musical bow, already described, and dance rattles, called *kaiamba*. The latter are made
524 from joints of bamboo or large reeds about 1 foot long and 1 to 1½ inches in diameter. In the bamboo rattles, a hole is burned through the septum at one end, seeds or small stones inserted and the hole plugged. In the reed rattles, one side of the tube is split while still green and the seeds or pebbles forced in. The slit closes as the reed dries. These rattles are carried in dances by the women, who shake them in time to their movements, and are also used as toys by children (Fig. 30, k).

A crude musical instrument is made by cutting notches along one side of a joint of bamboo. A sliver of wood or bamboo is rubbed

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rapidly back and forth across these. This musical rasp is used only by children and might be classed as a toy (Fig. 28, e). 534 524

Another children's instrument called *kididedra* consists of a joint of bamboo with the outer end cut into a number of strips about 8 to 10 inches long and ¼ to ½ inch wide. The bamboo is cut away between these strips, forming slots of equal width. The player holds the uncut part of the bamboo in his armpit and beats the strips with two small sticks (Fig. 28, f).